

Letters to the Editor

Some questions for *Post JAN 21 1980* Senator Tsongas

SIR — Allow me to reply to Senator Paul Tsongas's tough warning to South Africa. I invite him to dispute the facts as I see them.

He states that the United States would not assist South Africa if a racial explosion came here. I do agree with him because America is too afraid to assist any non-communist country even if they are militarily invaded.

Can he inform me which other country was assisted successfully by America? In fact the Americans did encourage states to resist communism, but when the crunch came, they ran like a mongrel with its tail between the legs.

Mr Tsongas must know by now that America will not go into combat with Russia. Unless, perhaps if the Russian tanks enter New York.

In the meantime, America will betray Western states to save their own skins.

Mr Tsongas himself is now falsely encouraging a racial explosion conveying false hopes to the blacks and coloureds in South Africa. Let me as-

sure the blacks and coloureds that this is American propaganda and if it comes to the crunch, the Americans will sit back and see them slaughtered like they did to Koreans, Afghanists, Czechs, Ukrainians, Ethiopians, etc etc.

Mr Tsongas is far too inexperienced in world affairs and has lost touch of American foreign policy, and I doubt if Mr Carter knows he was in South Africa.

The best way for America to help South Africa or any other Western country is to keep men like Mr Tsongas in America to put their own humanitarian policies in order with Negroes and Red Indians there.

Perhaps Mr Tsongas can tell his readers where and how mighty America ensures peace and security in the non-communist world? Why does America not stop communist oppression? What would

the communists have done if they were in control of South Africa today? And what would America have done to stop or prevent it?

Would the Russians have stopped Mr Tsongas' statement from going into print? What human rights and power does the American Red Indian have? How many Negroes possess oil wells and concessions in America?

C B KRATZINGER,
Pretoria.

BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

TOUGH TALKING

DISCUSSIONS between Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and American assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Richard Moose, at the weekend were tough and characterised by some very blunt talking, in which the American was left in no doubt that America's policy towards South Africa was simply not acceptable to the 300 000-strong movement.

The American Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Bill Edmondson, took part in the talks. He has had an influence on the shaping of that policy dating back to 1973, when he was in charge of the Africa programme of the Bureau for Cultural and Education Affairs.

Both he and Mr Moose could not have enjoyed being told in very forthright terms that the State Department's apparent policy of favouring radicals engaged in what the Inkatha president called "protest politics" was based on false perceptions and would certainly not bring about change.

Mr Moose will have remembered his encounter with Chief Buthelezi in Washington last September, in which the chief berated the American administration for failing to help blacks at an humanitarian level. Mr Moose said America had no formula for helping South African blacks at this level.

Shortly before this meeting in the State Department, Chief Buthelezi had warned the

Inkatha rejects US attitudes to S. Africa

By ARTHUR KONIGKRAMER

influential Foreign Policy Association that it should acrefully, examine despatches being sent out of South Africa by American diplomats. Most of these, he said, would be found to be "fatuous" and to contain "wrong" information.

He charged that American diplomats in South Africa were constantly urging him to come to terms with the Black Consciousness Movement and the "nominee" leaders and "black darlings" they (the diplomats) favoured. This king-making was a very dangerous phenomenon and he warned America and the West against believing that they would determine the future of Southern Africa.

Chief Buthelezi told the Americans at the weekend he was absolutely convinced that those who shaped American foreign policy would be enlightened if they were able to draw on scientifically proven information on the attitudes of black South Africans towards American policy and on their aspirations for the future.

He invited the American Government to co-operate

with him in producing such a report, adding that Americans should learn to talk with blacks rather than about them. Unless this happened, there was little prospect of Americans being the allies of blacks.

The following is an excerpt of a document presented to the Americans by Chief Buthelezi:

"Black people in South Africa are faced with no prospect of being given the vote by their white political oppressors. In economic terms they face no prospect of full employment. They face no prospect of housing at civilised standards. They face no prospect of an education system geared to the requirements of a space age. They face no prospects of increasing social security," he wrote.

"All analysis tells us that South Africa for the foreseeable future will have a growing proportion of have-nots in political opposition to the haves. In these circumstances, black scepticism about white liberalism has become entrenched. In these circumstances diplomatic

statements from the White House or from the United Nations are meaningless. It is in these circumstances that we have to look at each other and say that which is meaningful.

"What the United States has regarded as meaningful when one looks at public statements and diplomatic activity in this country has consistently proven to have little meaning. The perception of the South African situation is one in which protest politics will bring about fundamental change and this perception by many Americans is a false perception. Looking at the South African situation through American eyes tends to lead people to the belief that those who articulate black suffering are the leaders with whom dialogue should be held," the chief stated.

"There has been a consistent failure to recognise that organising people into self-conscious constituencies is a prime task facing a black population which has not got a majority white middle class to deal with. Preparation in South Africa for change involves the antithesis of the kind of activity which produced the 1976 Soweto position. That political development was hailed by the international community as highly significant."

Chief Buthelezi continued: "The misapprehension that such political activity could herald the downfall of apartheid is a misapprehension which I have persistently met in the eight trips that I have un-



Chief Buthelezi: Laying it on the line

dertaken to the United States. That misapprehension is the undercurrent of thought when I have met Americans in this country.

"If the United States is earnest in its role as an international force for good, peace and prosperity, if the United States is to live up to the expectations which black South Africans somehow still maintain, then this misapprehension that I talk about should be a matter of serious discussion. Relationships between countries are not made by individual opinions. They evolve from the vested interests of the majority of the people. The majority of the people in this country still perceive their vested interests as being best served by identifying with

the West and through Western involvement by the economic expansion of the country. This has been in the black political tradition of this country ever since the Act of Union in 1910."

The chief continued: "There is a deep rooted black hope that their continuing destitution does not in fact give lie to the value of Western idealism. When a people have been destitute for so long and they nevertheless retain such hopes, the chances are that if public opinion swings, it will swing radically and violently into an anti-Western and anti-American stance. Every time that Western international forces collaborate with the wrong people and back the wrong political line, or connive to make prominent the

wrong people, black South Africa experiences another set of disillusioning circumstances.

As we face a new decade under the influence of a new Prime Minister and Cabinet, it is crucial for the United States to understand that a time may come when any new experiments in bringing about change by democratic means may be the last experiment," he said.

"Mr P. W. Botha must necessarily indulge in political experimentation. If the average black South African has no allies in ensuring that Mr Botha's experimentation, not only in this country but in Southern Africa, is not disastrous, disaster will follow.

"It must be frankly stated that the South African question is an international Southern African question. If this is the case, it behoves us to recognise that America has got a historically important role to play. There must above all things be sincere attempts

on the part of America to consult with the average black on the future of South and Southern Africa.

"Inkatha is the only broad based representative organisation in this country and as such it has a central role to play. As the president of Inkatha I ask the question bluntly: Will the United States become overtly allied to Inkatha? There is only one way in which this can be done and that is by taking seriously the Inkatha perspective and responding sympathetically to Inkatha demands.

"Alliances are not built on gilt-edged securities. Alliances are built on hopes for the future. Inkatha seeks those alliances in which its own wisdom is valued for the fruits that will flow from that wisdom in the future. There is nothing short of a political act of faith which demonstrates the American genuineness that will be persuasive when I speak to the average black about my discussions with you," he said.

Outcast idealist who came back for more

Rand Daily Mail Jan 21 1980

to form the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Netherlands.

He tried to have as little contact with the London movement as possible, preferring to run the organisation without "outside interference".

"We concentrated on schooling students in the economics action group. In fact, many of the new officials in the Dutch trade union movement today were schooled by us."

Their contact with communist organisations, Berend said, had been the normal relationships any revolutionary movement had with them.

Did he agree with the aims and objectives of the communists?

"No, that was where the problems started. We had an ideological confrontation with the SA Communist Party on politics and programmes, mainly."

"The problem was that I disagreed with the programmes that the SACP had imposed on the African National Congress, which in effect made the ANC a Marxist-Leninist movement controlled by the SACP, which in turn is controlled by Moscow. The old orthodox communist ideology was being imposed on the new movement."

"At this time we were having remarkable success with the disinvestment campaign

(against Rhodesia and South Africa), such as breaking up the Zephyr network (an Amsterdam shipping firm that was exporting goods to Rhodesia). We infiltrated the firm and eventually had the directors brought to court."

"The fact that they were found guilty had a remarkable psychological effect on other firms."

"Everything was going really well, until I started being harassed by the SACP. Reginald September (then chief of the ANC in Europe) started visiting the Netherlands from London."

"It was at that time when I first met Breyten Breytenbach. He of course was down in Paris and had his thing going — I suppose you could call it a subculture — but he had heard of me... straight away I identified very strongly with him."

Whenever Mr Schuitema speaks of the Afrikaans poet, who is now serving a nine year jail sentence in Pretoria Central Prison under the Terrorism Act, he speaks eagerly and his blue eyes flash brightly.

And yet, Mr Schuitema is the man accused by anti-apartheid circles of "shopping" Breytenbach, and of being an informer for the South African Security Police.

But, be that as it may, politics is undeniably Mr Schuitema's lifeblood. He moves with ease through the mainstream of "exile politics". Zealous as a Trappist monk, he is of that breed who give themselves totally to a cause — regardless of the consequences.

Berend Schuitema grew very close to Breytenbach in a short time, and the two exiles spent long hours together talking of their mutual dislike of the communist influence in the ANC.

Together they formulated the Okhela Manifesto, which Mr Schuitema claims was the constitution of "nothing more than a white consciousness movement".

However during Breytenbach's trial the manifesto was seen to be a programme for "militant whites". It read in part:

"The short-term goal of our struggle is the liberation of the territory of South Africa and the seizing of power by the liberation movements representing the people of South Africa."

It also talked of the need for the ANC to engage in "armed struggle and underground work".

When the SACP got wind of it, Mr Schuitema said, they deduced that he and Breytenbach

One people, one problem

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WINTERVELDT is part of the indivisibility of South Africa's people and its problems.

First used as a dumping ground by white South Africa for unwanted blacks in 1969, and then declared part of the Tswana "homeland", this sprawling squatter settlement had become a vast headache for both the BophuthaTswana and South African governments.

Showing up the fatuousness of the homeland policy, the non-Tswana majority in Winterveldt do not want Tswana citizenship. But if they don't take it they face expulsion. Then they will be South Africa's problem — other homelands do not want them.

Toward the end of last year a tour by Mrs Helen Suzman MP and other Progressive-Federal Party members spotlighted the

plight of the insecure, overcrowded shanty-dwellers. And the black landowners — again mostly non-Tswana — who accommodate the squatters, finally responded to an appeal by President Mangope, and formed a committee under the chairmanship of Mr Sam Motsuenyane to study the problem.

And now South Africa, although still talking about Winterveldt as being, "primarily the responsibility of the Government of BophuthaTswana", has finally decided to co-operate with the homeland in developing the area.

And about time too. The Nationalists who created this squatter problem in the first place made it worse with their homeland policy. Now they are stuck with it. At least they realise it.

New Lesotho cash — but rand stays

Rand Daily Mail Jan 21, 1980

By MIKE PITSO
'Mail' Africa Bureau

MASERU. — Lesotho took the first steps towards having its own currency at the weekend — but the South African rand will continue to be legal tender and it has been arranged for Basotho wanting to shop in South Africa to change the new money into rands at border posts.

Speaking at the meeting to launch the new currency on Saturday, the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, said Lesotho had continued to use South Africa not only because it was a colonial legacy which could not be discarded overnight, but because of the realities of being encircled by an economically powerful neighbour.

The new currency will be known as "maloti". Chief Jonathan said the move showed Lesotho's commitment to create conditions which would give "our political independence meaning and relevance".

"For the 13 years since our

independence we have continued to use the South African rand as our currency, with little control over our monetary policies, which dictate trends in our economy," he said.

He warned that the use of the new currency called for great caution and calculation on the part of Lesotho, and the need to balance political ambitions with objective realities.

"Even though we are now issuing our own currency, realities dictate that it should, for now, not only be backed by the South African rand, but should also for the foreseeable future continue to circulate within our territorial boundaries."

He said that even though Lesotho would have significant powers over monetary policy in the country, the co-operation of the South African Reserve Bank would have to be maintained to ensure smooth circulation of the new currency.

The situation highlighted the need for economic co-operation in Southern Africa, said Chief Jonathan.

He emphasised that the eco-

nomic co-operation of Southern African states could lead towards the total economic independence of the region, because all the countries involved were interdependent.

"We need each other, and for wider interests we must remove all . . . that stands in the way of regional co-operation and economic progress.

"In particular, there is urgent need for the total dismantling of apartheid, which in modern times is the worst form of social organisation, with tentacles that threaten the well-being of every state in the sub-continent.

"With the obliteration of this system, which is incompatible with justice and equity, I am confident that our region could emerge, in economic terms, as the powerhouse of Africa."

Chief Jonathan dissociated Lesotho and himself from the constellation of African states proposed by South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha. He said it was "nothing but a mirage".

Rand Daily
A note
Jan 21 1980
of hope
from
Koornhof

By DIAGO SEGOLA

THE Government was "looking very seriously" into the question of blacks being citizens of homelands and South Africa and a "firm decision" would be made soon, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said at the weekend.

He was visiting townships on the East Rand.

"The question of citizenship is very complicated and the Government is looking into it. I agree that citizenship (of homelands) must not be enforced but I want to point out that in this country in order to have a workable life, all people, all the peoples, must have self-determination.

"The fact that in this country there are Zulus, Afrikaners, Sothos, etc does not matter. If we can find a system that can work out, that would be a real hope for this country," Dr Koornhof said.

Dr Koornhof was replying to a question put to him by Mr Lucky Mogorosi, deputy chairman of the Katlehong Community Council.

Mr Mogorosi had told Dr Koornhof that blacks were being forced to take up homeland citizenship.

Dr Koornhof did not elaborate on the citizenship issue but said there was a "huge undertaking" from the Government to change the reference book system. He said he would not rest until this had been done.

However, influx control was necessary to ensure that there was control and to safeguard the interests of people belonging to a particular area.

But he said: "If not implemented in a humane fashion, then I am against it."

Dr Koornhof said unless there was co-operation between blacks and whites in South Africa, there was no hope for the future of the country.

GENERAL NEWS

Unrest: Ford report gave early warning

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Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The labour unrest and industrial disputes which have plagued the Ford Motor Company in Port Elizabeth for three months were anticipated in a report commissioned by the company and received in November.

The report was prepared by three Rhodes University academics at the request of the Institute of Race Relations and financed by Ford as part of the company's programme implementing the principles of the Sullivan Code of labour ethics.

Two of the academics involved have now given interviews disclosing the report was highly critical of labour policies at Ford and the way in which the company had implemented the principles of the code.

Their report, which reached Ford in the middle of its first strike last November, anticipated several grievances voiced by the strikers, including:

- The cutback in working hours, which meant that between 80% and 90% of Ford's black workers were earning pay below the poverty datum line;

- That real income of workers in the lower grades had declined over the past eight years;

- That black advancement had not been implemented quickly enough; and,

- That racism was still apparent, in spite of Ford's commitment to the Sullivan principles and integrated work facilities, and many of the improvements had been merely "window-

dressing".

Ford's director of industrial relations, Mr Fred Ferreira, said last night that Ford had encouraged this critical analysis of its labour structure.

"We realised we needed an independent assessment of our policies, and are satisfied, by and large, the report has achieved just this," he said.

The view of the three academics was that Ford's publicly-espoused intentions on the labour front had raised the expectations of its workers — but what the company had actually delivered, in the way of improvements and advancements, had fallen far short of these expectations.

One of the team, Dr Marianne Roux, senior lecturer in sociology at Rhodes, said other companies which had not promised as much as Ford, nor implemented a programme of affirmative action, had not experienced industrial unrest.

Another, Professor Michael Whisson, head of the department of anthropology at the university, said: "Ford made big promises, which it could not deliver in the area of wages and could not deliver fast enough in other areas, like black advancement."

However, the pair agreed there was an element of bad luck contributing to the labour unrest experienced by Ford.

They said that because market demand was slackening, Ford had to lay off 300 of its hourly staff last July.

And the survivors were put on short time.

Prof Whisson and Dr Roux said that while their findings were critical, Ford was never-

theless a clear leader in implementing the Sullivan principles.

They highlighted the fact that Ford's affirmative action budget would be substantially increased this year, and the company hoped to spend over R2 000 000 on programmes to uplift the black community from which it drew its workforce.

But they claimed Ford's previous selection of areas for its largesse sometimes lacked "political sensitivity".

They said a substantial portion of the R1 800 000 Ford spent on its affirmative action budget last year went to "pro-apartheid organisations".

Prof Whisson said an enormous sum was allocated to support the East Cape Administration Board's housing scheme and, although the board was doing things for blacks, it was anathema to the people themselves.

Both academics believed the recent labour unrest had contained one good lesson — that the union could not be left out of the negotiating process.

They said the long-term aim should be to promote a single, non-racial union and that Ford should continue to press for modification of the law to permit labour to organise on a non-racial basis.

On the whole, they believed the troubles would have salutary effects on all sides. The reinstatement of all strikers had been "a victory for commonsense".

Mr Ferreira confirmed last night that the company was at present following up many of the report's recommendations.

Mob beat up police at vast PF rally

Rand Daily mail Jan 21, 1980

By JOHN RYAN

BULAWAYO

FOUR policemen were assaulted at a Joshua Nkomo rally attended by 200 000 people in Bulawayo yesterday, in the first violence of Rhodesia's election campaign.

One man was beaten almost to death with bottles. Semi-conscious and bleeding from multiple head wounds, he was finally rescued by Patriotic Front officials.

The largest crowd ever seen at a Rhodesian election rally, reacting to assassination threats against Mr Nkomo, set upon the plainclothes policemen after they were found to be carrying arms.

All four, who had infiltrated the crowd incognito, were trapped inside a security fence surrounding one of the three rally fields.

After being assaulted they were thrown bodily over the barbed wire. A civilian thought to be carrying a weapon had his ear cut off.

Police eventually broadcast a message to the crowd saying the rally would be called off if the violence continued.

Mr Nkomo has had repeated threats on his life since he arrived back in Rhodesia last Sunday from four years in exile.

Yesterday's violence occurred before Mr Nkomo flew into his home city from Salisbury in a chartered Zambia Airways 707, zooming low over Bulawayo's Barbours Fields rally ground.

In his speech, the Zapu president immediately deplored the mob's action against the police.

The enthusiastic turnout at the rally confirmed Mr Nkomo's standing as the man who holds the crucial balance of power in Rhodesia.

Because his power base is the Ndebele, Rhodesia's second largest tribe, he will not be able to win the election outright.

But the immense strength of his support in Matabeleland and among Ndebeles in other areas must make him the ideal man to coalesce with and both Mr Robert Mugabe and Bishop Abel Muzorewa must be aware of that prospect.

Coming after the violence, Mr Nkomo's speech reflected the same conciliatory tone as his address last week to a crowd of 150 000 in Salisbury.

He appealed to all whites who had chosen Rhodesia as their home to "stay with us".

He appealed to the British Governor, Lord Soames, to begin — "as soon as possible, even before the elections" — building the nucleus of one army from the various opposition forces of the war.

Mr Nkomo urged guerrillas who had not yet obeyed the ceasefire to come out of the bush and give up their arms.